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ABSTRACT

I:waki are what the O'odham (Papago and Pima People) call young green leafy plants that they eat as cooked "greens" and serve as an important part of the traditional Papago diet. Sketches of five different kinds of i:waki are presented in the booklet to help identify the "greens." Names of each of the "greens" are given in Papago, Spanish, and English and the scientific term is included. Descriptions also include the season the "greens" are ready to pick and eat, places where the "greens" grow best, and how to use each part of the plant. Plants described are Indian Spinach, Goosefoot, Annual Salt Weed, Pig Weed, and Pusley. The next section of the booklet provides 11 recipes for wild greens, such as boiled greens, fried greens, greens stew, mustard greens wth chili, and greens dumplings. A chart is presented indicating nutrient values (calories, Vitamin A, Vitamin C, calcium, and iron) in wild greens. The booklet further explains Papago sayings pertaining to wild greens and offers a special note to city dwellers about where they may get wild greens. The booklet concludes with a 14-item unannotated bibliography on the background information of wild greens. (ERB)

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O'odham I:wakĭ

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Wild Greens of the Desert People

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SOURCEBOOK

for

MFM/SCF Papago Food Production
& Nutrition Education Project

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MEALS FOR MILLIONS/
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I:wakĭ are what the O'odham, or Papago and Pima people, call young green leafy plants that they eat as cooked greens. When they translate this word into English, they commonly say "wild spinach." These plants are in fact related to the kind of spinach that comes in cans or fresh from stores. In Mexico, these same plants are called quelites and are picked and eaten by nearly everyone. The word i:wakĭ is used in another way, too -- to describe any "precious little plant sprouting and budding or leafing out." In this book, the word i:wakĭ will be translated as "wild greens."

I:wakĭ were an important part of the traditional Papago diet, providing sources of green leafy vegetables during most of the year. They still grow widely on the reservation, free for the picking. Eating more of them could solve many of the vitamin and mineral deficiencies found among Papago people today.

Wild greens can be found during three of the four traditional Papago seasons. As one woman says, the old-time Papago knew four seasons. They could tell when a new season was coming "by their feelings, by feeling the weather change, by watching the birds, by seeing the weeds come up."

S-he:p ced, or the cold season, is "the time when they plant the wheat." During spring, called hu:kalik or hukahitk, "it is warming up." When "it is getting hot," it is s-toñipk. When harvest time comes, it is s-he:pim. Some O'odham call autumn ha:l a'at mampso, when the winds blow and turn over the leaves of the squash plants in the fields so all the fruits show.

It is the rain that causes the i:wakĭ to spring up in the desert. During the s-he:p ced, the cold rains bring opon i:wakĭ, one of the tastiest greens. Opon is followed by cual. Cual is ready to eat during hu:kalik and "grows with the wheat." During hu:kalik you can also find onk i:wakĭ, the salty spinach. "After you finish the cual, you start the onk i:wakĭ."

The next rains come during s-toñipk, and they bring the most greens. After the summer rains, look for cuhukia. A little later, you can find ku'ukpalk.

S-he:pim is the only season when there is no i:wakĭ. It is too dry then.

	Season	Green
Winter Rains	s-he:p ced	opon i:wakĭ
Spring/Turning Warm	hu:kalik hukahitk	cual onk i:wakĭ
Summer Rains	s-toñipk	cuhukia ku'ukpalk
Autumn/Turning Cold	s-he:pim hail a'at mampso	No i:wakĭ grows

You do not have to look far to find wild greens. They grow just a few footsteps away -- in yards, near corrals, along roads, and in gardens and fields (where some people call them weeds). Greens like to grow where the soil has been disturbed by people and animals walking on it or digging in it. The plants grow thickest, and for the longest time, in places where the water collects, right at the mouths of washes, along irrigation ditches, or near dips in the road "where the water spreads out."

Avoid picking greens along heavily traveled roads, where gasoline fumes may collect on the leaves, or in fields where chemical sprays are used, like cotton fields.

Greens are for everybody. As one Papago said, "i:wakĭ does not belong to anybody. Just like the reservation, it belongs to all the O'odham.

Because wild greens grow so near by, you can gather them anytime, without making a lot of plans ahead. This can come in handy if you have forgotten to make anything for dinner. One person can

pick enough i:wakĭ for a meal in just a few minutes. Several people picking together is even better. In a book about old-time Papago life, one woman tells us how the women in her family gathered summer greens: "In the afternoon, my mother-in-law would say to us, 'let us go out and gather cuhukia.' So I and my sister-in-law would take our carrying nets, walk about half a mile from the camp and fill them. Then we made soup and that was all we had for supper." Picking greens is also a good task for children to do to help get the family meal ready. Many older people remember how their grandmothers would say, "Run over and get some spinach for supper."

It is best to pick the greens when they are young and tender, early in the season. You can just twist off the top of the plant and cook it all. Do not worry about picking too much. The more you pick, the more the plants will grow. The only time you take the whole plant is "if you pick i:wakĭ when fields are being used. Then pull the whole thing up, because the sticks are bad for the horses." Later in the season, when the plants are old, you can still eat them. But take only the leaves and discard the tough stalks.

Women used to put the i:wakĭ in their carrying nets as they picked. Nowadays, use anything -- a paper bag, a bowl, or a pan.

As soon as you get home, wash the i:wakĭ well to get the dirt off. This is especially important if you have picked greens from

a corral, a cultivated field, or a roadside. One washing is usually enough. But onk i:wakĭ, salty spinach, "has to be washed a lot of times to get off that sandy feeling. Wash it until the water is clear."

Wild greens grow in so many places that the easiest thing is to pick them fresh each time you eat them. You can keep them for a few days in a plastic bag in the refrigerator.

Some people dry wild greens by laying them out on racks in the shade. Then they keep the dried greens in jars with tight lids, such as Mason jars. When they want to eat them, they boil them in water. Often cholla buds are eaten with the cooked dried greens.

The Pima Indians also freeze wild greens in small packages in their refrigerators to eat later.

Papagos say that greens should be eaten because they are a gift from the Maker. "I:wakĭ are good for us because we are supposed to eat them. The Maker planted them thousands and

thousands of years ago." Modern scientific knowledge now confirms that i:wakĭ contain important vitamins and minerals that our bodies need to stay healthy. Vitamin A, Vitamin C, folic acid, calcium, iron, and magnesium are found in these plant foods. These vitamins and minerals, while needed by everyone, are especially important for pregnant women, nursing mothers, infants, and children. These vitamins help protect our bodies from runny eyes and noses, sores on your skin, anemia or weak blood, bleeding or sore gums, diarrhea or constipation, and digestive upsets.

A serving of greens may provide as much calcium as a glass of milk. This helps make hard bones and teeth, besides providing iron for strong blood.

The vitamin A in a one day's serving of i:wakĭ can last your body for several days, protecting you from infection and sore eyes. A daily serving of i:wakĭ gives enough vitamin C to protect you from sore and bleeding gums and to help wounds heal. I:wakĭ also contains iron and folic acid which help make strong red blood.

Because so few green leafy vegetables are available on the reservation, from either the trading posts or the commodity program, wild greens can be an important addition to your diet. If people would eat wild greens often during the seasons in which they grow, their bodies could store up some necessary vitamins and minerals to help them through coming weeks.

The pictures on the following pages will help you identify the different kinds of i:wakĭ. If you are not sure which plants to pick, ask an older person in your community or check with Desert Foods of the Papago Nutrition Improvement Program. Names of the Papago seasons and the Anglo months are given for each kind of i:wakĭ, but remember that for gathering greens, it is better to go by the rains, how the weather feels, and by "watching the weeds."

A Note to Gila River Pima People:

Throughout this text, i:wakĭ is spelled the way the Papago say this word, instead of i:vak as the Pima say it. Other words substitute the w for the v, too. Knowing this, in looking at the words, they may begin to sound to you more like the way your grandparents say them!

O'odham ñeok: OPON

Nombre en español: PATOTA

Common English name: POVERTY WEED, INDIAN SPINACH

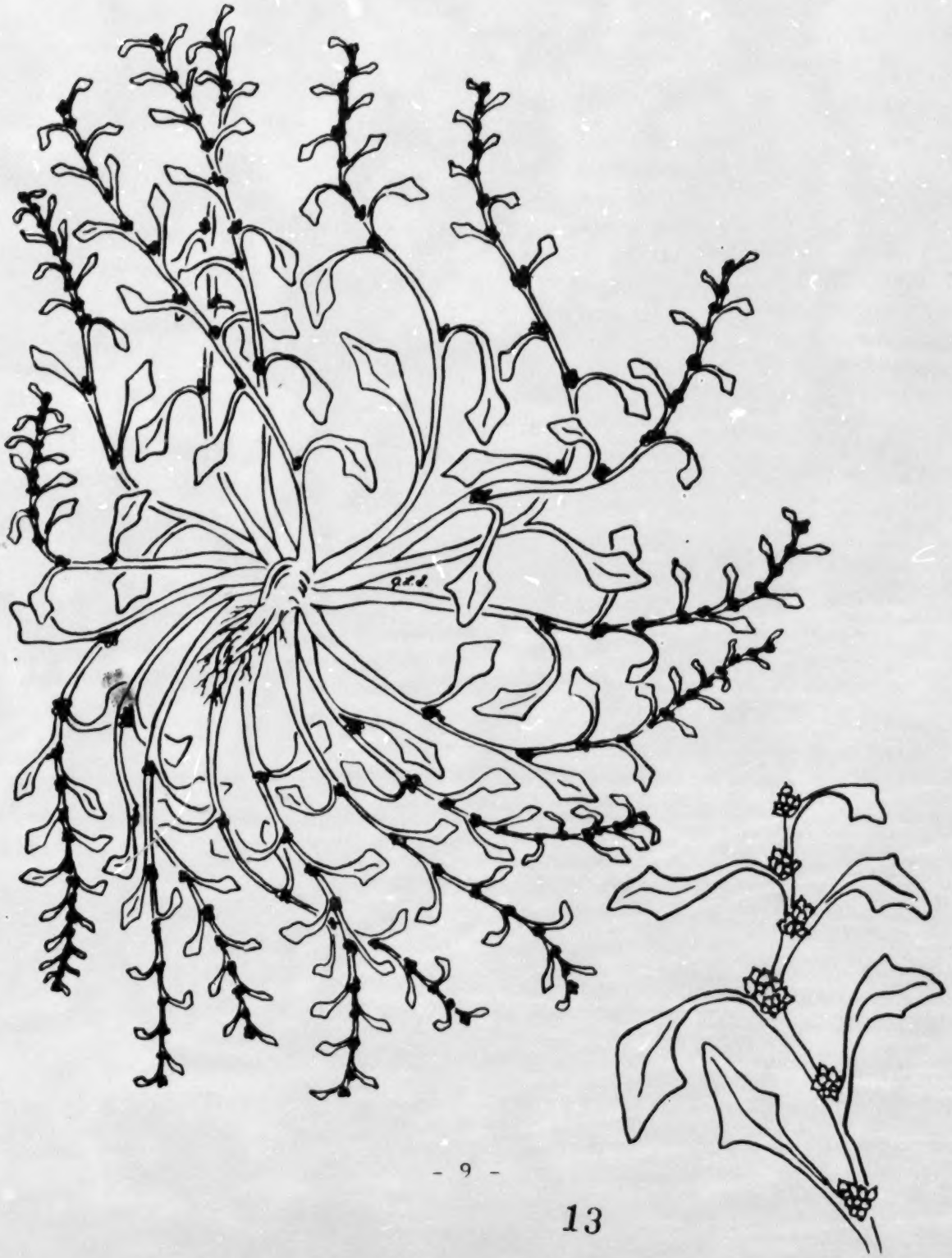
Scientific taxa: Monolepis nutalliana

TIME: Opon comes up with the very first winter rains and is common by the middle of February. It is sometimes good for eating through the middle of April but is often too old by then.

PLACE: Opon grows in low places -- along roads, paths, salt flats and floodplains. It is sometimes hard to notice because it grows close to the ground and other plants cover it up. In certain places, it grows in thick patches where you can just sit down in one place and pull up a whole bag-full.

PLANT PARTS: The plant should be pried up so that part of the taproot, as well as the leaves and stem, is used. It can be frozen for future use. The delicate shape of the ring of leaves of opon i:waki accounts for its name which means "lacy."

Opon
Patota
Poverty Weed or
Indian Spinach
Monolepis nutalliana



O'odham ñeok: CUAL, HUAHAI

Nombres en español: CHUALES, CHICHI QUELITES

Common English name: LAMB'S QUARTER, GOOSEFOOT

Scientific taxae: Chenopodium berlandieri, C. fremontii

TIME: Most of the cual is ready to eat in early spring, as the wheat gets tall, but some can be found scattered from mid-winter through to fall. A few more come up every time there is a good rain, especially in the late winter.

PLACE: In the desert, cual grows mostly in freshly plowed wheat-fields, with some around charcos, pastures, and washes after floods. When it grows among the wheat, it is the home for beneficial insects that eat the pesty bugs on the wheat.

PLANT PARTS: The leaves of these greens are sometimes washed to remove the salty grains on them; then they are cooked. Cual is a loan word from the Mexicans, who use this word for many kinds of greens.

Cual. Huahai
Chuales, Chichi
Quelites
Lamb's Quarter or
Goosefoot
Chenopodium
berlandieri,
C. fremontii

O'odham ñeok: ONK I:WAKĬ

Nombre en español: YERBA SALADA

Common English name: WRIGHT'S SALTBUSH, ANNUAL SALT WEED

Scientific taxa: Atriplex wrightii (Chenopodium murale is also sometimes called onk i:wakĬ -- see discussion of "other greens")

TIME: Onk i:wakĬ begins to come up in April and continues to sprout through September. It is one of the few i:wakĬ that is ready to eat during the dry time, before the summer rains come.

PLACE: Onk i:wakĬ comes up on salt flats and on bare, clayey patches in irrigated fields. It can grow where other plants cannot, on alkali soils in abandoned fields, old ditches, and dried-up edges of charcos and roadsides.

PLANT PARTS: The upper leaves and young stem tips are collected, mostly for cooking with cholla cactus buds, although they are also eaten by themselves sometimes. By leaving the lower part of the plant intact after picking the top off of it, new leaves can sprout to give you enough for a second harvest later on. The O'odham dry them on screens or by hanging them in the shade, and then store them in jars for later use. Onk i:wakĬ means "salty greens".

Onk I:wakĭ
Yerba Salada
Wright Saltbush, Annual Salt Weed
Atriplex wrightii

O'odham ñeok: CUHUKIA

Nombre en español: QUELITES DE LAS AGUAS

Common English name: PIG WEED, CARELESS WEED

Scientific taxa: Amaranthus palmeri

TIME: Cuhukia usually comes up in great numbers with the first summer rains. It is everywhere July through September. A few that sprout with the later rains in October "must have been sleeping in the ground all summer." Irrigated fields may begin to have cuhukia in May. It is sold in Mexican mercados through August.

PLACE: Cuhukia is plentiful in freshly plowed fields, along ditchbanks, in recently burnt washes and roadsides, and around corrals and charcos. When it comes up in cornfields, it is the home for beneficial insects that eat the pests of corn. If you hoe up the dirt in a wet field, or pull all the young ones up in a small area, you will likely make other cuhukia sprout there.

PLANT PARTS: The best time to use whole plants is when they are shorter than your hand, before they go to seed and have stickers. On older plants, you can pinch off clusters of younger, tender leaves. The O'odham used to grind the seeds into flours to make "black tortillas." Cuhukia means "night-carrying."

Cuhukia
Ouelites de las Aquas
Pig Weed, Careless
Weed
Amaranthus palmeri

O'odham ñeok: KU'UKPALK

Nombre en español: VERDOLAGA

Common English name: PURSLANE, PUSLEY

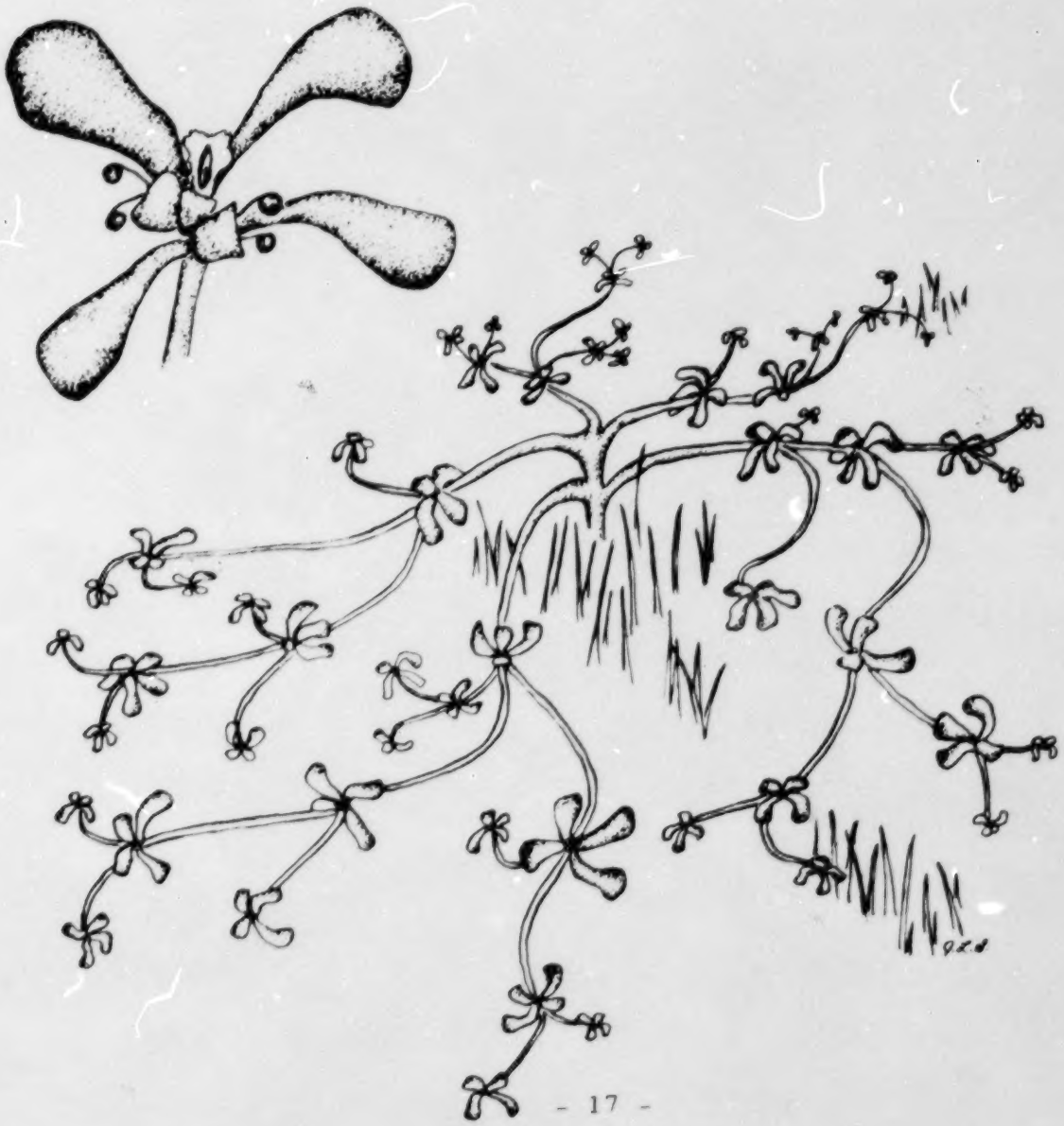
Scientific taxae: Portulaca oleracea, P. retusa, P. umbraticola, and false purslane, Trianthema portulacastrum

TIME: Ku'ukpalk comes up mostly with the late summer rains. It is seen soon after the sprouting of cuhukia. Where there is irrigation, it can come up anytime from May to October.

PLACE: Ku'ukpalk grows in fields, gardens, yards, and pathways -- wherever there is a low open place or depression where rainwater stands after storms. Sometimes you can buy these greens in grocery stores in Tucson or in the mercados of Sonoran border towns.

PLANT PARTS: Both the leaves and young stems are used, raw or cooked. Ku'ukpalk means "upside-down leaves."

Ku'ukpalk
Verdolaga
Purslane, Pusley
Portulaca oleracea



OTHER GREENS

(These are wild plants that the Papago and Pima use less frequently today, but they were once notable parts of their diets. The plants are still common in many areas of the desert. We are less sure that we have correctly identified the greens which we have marked with question marks (?). If you know of other edible desert greens, let us know!)

SCIENTIFIC NAME	O'ODHAM ÑEOK	COMMON ENGLISH NAME
Chenopodium murale	Onk i:wakĭ Kawpdum (kow) (?) Hiwitcuis (?)	Nettleleaf goosefoot
Malva parviflora	Ñiatum cuigam Taṣmahak (?)	Cheese weed Little mallow
Plantago insularis	Mumṣa (?)	Wooly plantain
Rumex hymenosephalus	Hiwijul	Wild rhubarb cañaigre (caña agria)
Sonchus asper	S-ho'idkam i:wakĭ Waj hehewo	Spring sow thistle
Sonchus oleraceus	Wai hehewo S-ho'idkam ṣaipak	Annual sow thistle
Taraxacum officinale	(?)	Dandelion

Recipes for Wild Greens

I:waki Hihidog

Boiled Greens

Wash the greens. Put them in a pot with a little water. Cover the pot. Boil for a few minutes until tender. Greens are good just plain, or with a few drops of lemon juice or vinegar.

Greens with Cheese Sauce

Cook the greens until tender in a covered pot. Pour off the water. (Save for soup or gravy, or drink it.) In another pot, melt a spoonful of shortening. Stir in two spoonfuls of flour. Add a little salt and pepper. Cook a few minutes. Slowly add one cup of milk (instant dry milk can be used) and cook until thick, stirring constantly. Add one cup of cheese cut up into small pieces. Stir until the cheese is melted and the sauce is smooth. Pour the sauce over the drained greens.

Fried Greens

Boil the greens in a little water until tender. Pour off the water and squeeze out the greens with your hands. Melt a spoonful of grease in a pot. Add some chopped onion, a chopped green chili, a chopped tomato, and the drained greens. Fry for about 10 minutes.

Greens Stew

Soak a cup of dried cholla buds in water; then boil them with wild greens until tender. Fry chopped onion in a frying pan with a spoonful of grease. Add squash and chili which has been cut up into small pieces. Cut up meat into small pieces and add it also. Cook until everything is tender. At the end, add the cholla buds and greens and boil for a few more minutes.

Salad Greens

Young tender greens can be eaten raw in any salad. Or you can mix some cooked greens with some cold, cooked cholla buds, chopped cooked potato, and salad dressing.

Greens with Cholla Buds and Beans

Boil the greens in a little water until tender. Melt a spoonful of grease in a frying pan. Add the greens, some cooked cholla buds, and some whole cooked beans. A little chopped onion and chili are good in this dish, too. Fry together, adding enough cooking juice to make a thin gravy.

Taos Greens

Boil greens in a little water until tender. Pour off the water. Chop up several pieces of bacon and fry in a frying pan. Add flour to the bacon grease and cook for several minutes. Add some water slowly to make a gravy. Then add the greens to the gravy.

Mustard Greens with Chili

Boil the greens in a little water until tender. Pour off the water. Melt a spoonful of beef fat in a frying pan. Add a chopped chili with the seeds. Add the drained greens and fry for a few minutes.

Greens Dumplings

Wash the greens and drain them. Place half of them in a pot. Make a stiff dough of whole wheat flour, water, and salt. Pat the dough into a cake. Place on the greens. Cover with another layer of greens. Steam for about an hour using very little water.

Greens with Boiled Eggs

Prepare fried greens. Mix the cooked greens with chopped boiled eggs. This recipe is good with other leftovers, such as beans, mixed in also.

Salty Greens (Onk I:wakĭ) with Bawĭ and Ga'iwsa

Prepare boiled greens. Squeeze the water out. Add cooked tepary beans and ground roasted corn. Cholla buds may be added, too.

NUTRIENTS IN WILD GREENS (I:WAKĬ)

In 100 Gram Portions (a)

Papago Name (Greens' Condition) Scientific Name	Energy Calories	Vitamin A I.U.	Vitamin C MG	Calcium MG	Iron MG
Head Lettuce (reference point)	13	330	6	20	0.5
Opon (raw) *Monolepis nutalliana*	b	b	b	83	1.4
Cual, Huahai (raw) *Chenopodium*	43	11,600	80	309	1.2
Cual, Huahai (boiled, drained) *Chenopodium*	32	9,700	37	258	0.7
Onk i:wakĭ (raw) *Atriplex wrightii*	b	b	b	107c	0.9c
Cuhukia (raw) *Amaranthus palmeri*	36	6,100	80	411c	3.4c
Ku'ukpalk (raw, tender stems and leaves) *Portulaca oleracea*	b	b	24d	139d	2.8d

a - 100 grams of raw greens = 1½ cups raw = ½ cup cooked

b - Probably similar to the other greens listed here

c - Values from Greenhouse (1979)

d - Values from Munsell, et al (1949)

All other values from Watt and Merill (1963)

I:WAKĬ STORIES

* "Horses like i:wakĭ as much as people do. You find greens growing around their corrals because they eat so much and then waste the seeds. That is why when I used to give i:wakĭ to my boy, he would say, 'I am not a horse.'"

* Picking i:wakĭ used to be something that the women did for their families; now men can do it, too.

* "The first i:wakĭ, the real young ones, you cook it and eat as much as you can; but don't drink water afterwards, because you will be very thirsty. So drink water before."

* If you have a child who won't eat his i:wakĭ, tell him, "If you don't eat what they gave us you drown. That's what the Maker said, 'If you don't eat what I give you, you drown.' Or, "I'itoi will spank you."

* "Do you know that i:wakĭ that comes up in your garden may help keep pests away from the plants.....and eating some every evening is an easy way to weed the garden."

* An old Papago story tells why you find the hair of the chief's daughter in the first cuhukia you eat in the summer. Ask your grandmother to tell you the story this winter.

* "There were these Papago ladies that picked cotton with us every year. One year we didn't see them. The next season we saw them and said, 'We didn't see you then.' They said that they went to get some i:wakĭ in a ditch by a field, and the police thought they were picking 'something else' and put them in jail."

A NOTE TO CITY-DWELLERS

Wild greens are among the few edible plants available in abundance even in cities -- they sometimes grow up through the cracks in sidewalks. They come up in vacant lots and abandoned fields. But special care should be taken when choosing a place to harvest greens in cities and in areas where fields may be sprayed with chemicals. Roadside greens are often covered with dust, but they also may be full of lead from car exhausts. Greens in places away from roads should be harvested first when at all possible.

In some areas, farmers use herbicides to chemically kill the greens coming up in their fields which grow with their crop plants. Greens may be full of other farm chemicals, too. When picking greens from fields, be sure to ask the farmers for permission, and ask them whether or not the field has been recently sprayed. If so, avoid them.

But do not worry! There are still many, many places full of greens where it is safe to pick them. In fact, you are more likely to get untreated wild greens than untreated green leafy vegetables in the grocery stores. Remember, too, that weedy greens are often a sign of Nature recovering -- once again covering up barren soils and healing disturbed landscapes.

CONTRIBUTORS

The writing of this source book was coordinated by the Meals for Millions Southwest staff, yet it drew on the knowledge of many many people. In a way, we are making available to you knowledge of desert plants that the Papago people have accumulated and sorted out over centuries, supplementing it with data from "modern science" which confirms many of their observations. Thus, we thank not only the Papago individuals that shared their People's knowledge with us, but all of those that went before them, collecting and tasting desert plants and handing the knowledge down to their children.

Meals for Millions staff contributors were Cynthia Anson, Gary Nabhan and Patsy Yetman. Special nutritional consultant was Ruth Greenhouse, who provided much original data and analysis. Save the Children staff contributors were Nancy Garcia and Idaleen Geronimo.

Papago "Desert Foods" consultants were Gabriel Williams and Juanita Ahill. Papago linguistic consultants were Danny Lopez and Tony Chana. Other knowledgeable Papago and Pima who patiently answered many questions were Frances Manuel, Delores and Margaret Lewis, Ramon Lopez, Edna Jones and many others in Little Tucson, Big Fields, Queenswell and Ventana.

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